l:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
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prohibitive commandments to which the Tĕngananese is subject, and the violation of one of these regulations even in very early years has serious consequences for all of his later life. For a boy to be expelled from his association means that he cannot later become a member of the *desa*, in other words can never participate fully in religious ceremonies or obtain the customary right of disposal over five village *sawahs*. Walking through the village with a young Tĕngananese, one may suddenly hear him ask one to wait a moment until he has had his creese and sash fetched, for if he were to walk past his association *bale* without them it would cost him a fine of twenty-five hundred doits. The equivalent regulations for the *desa* members themselves are even stricter. They may not be found outside their *banjar* or the *desa* without a creese, outer garment, and sash. They have to have the permission of the village administration to go beyond the *desa* boundary. And they, their wives, and their children are prohibited from doing any number of things.

Yet to me this population structure seems even more striking as a remnant of an earlier social organization. This village where the men are exclusively tappers of palm wine and the women weavers of sacred fabrics is full of reminiscences of a totemistic clan structure such as Rassers has sketched in his various writings – a structure characterized by one single craft, totem animals, a division in left and right halves, clan temples, and initiation.[14]

After the above description of the young people's associations and the *desa* association a few further comments are necessary to complete this survey of the population of Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan. The able-bodied men who are not members of the *desa* are called *gumis pulangan*. For village services only one *gumi pulangan* per 'kitchen', that is to say per compound, needs to report, even though there may be more able-bodied men living in the compound. The male *desa* members plus the *gumis pulangan* are together called *tambunan gumi*. This group comes to a total of about a hundred men. The men in the village who are not able-bodied are called *gumi unggu*. A person is no longer able-bodied if he is not capable of using a hatchet. Such a person may not belong to

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of pure European stock, the rest being Eurasians and certain Balinese, Javanese, Chinese, and Japanese who are given equal standing with Europeans by a decree making them "Staatsblad Europeanen."

For those interested in knowing something of the racial origins of the Balinese, it may be added that they are by no means a pure race, but a complicated mixture of the native aborigines, with superimposed layers of higher cultures of various types.[1] The Balinese are descendants of a pure "Indonesian" race mixed with the Hindus of Central and East Java, who were themselves Indonesians of Hindu culture, with Indian and Chinese blood. To these mixtures are further added traces of the Polynesian and Melanesian, the result being a picturesque variety of types among the Balinese: from the noble Hindu and Northern Chinese, to the Malay-Javanese, Polynesian, and even Papuan. While some have sleek hair, high nose bridges, and cream-yellow skins, some are dark and curly-haired like South Sea Islanders. Some have large almond eyes, often with the "Mongoloid" fold, convex

[1] The ancient inhabitants of the Malay Archipelago were "Indonesians," also called Malayo-Polynesians, Austronesians, Malaysians, and so forth. Of these, pure branches are to be found today in the Dyak of Borneo, the Batak of Sumatra, the Toradja of Celebes, and the Igorot the Philippines. They are called by anthropologists "Proto-Malaysians" to differentiate them from the "Deutero-Malaysians," those with Hindu, Chinese, and Arabic mixtures.

The original Indonesians perhaps came to the islands long before our era, probably from Southern China about 2000 B.C. (Heine-Geldern), found extremely primitive aborigines of the Vedoic or Negrito type already there, perhaps the most undeveloped form of humanity. The Indonesians spread their culture over the islands and introduced the cultivation of rice, outrigger canoes, domestic animals — pigs, dogs, chickens, and water-buffaloes — ironwork, mats, pottery, megalithic monuments, and probably the making of tapa cloth. They were often head-hunters and cannibals, and Dr. D. J. H. Nyessen suggests that they may have been the ancestors of the Polynesians.

The islands were at the crossroads of the ancient sea-routes, favoured by winds and currents, so the natives mixed freely with the peoples of neighbouring regions: India, China, Arabia, and the Melanesian and Polynesian islands. The Hindus established great colonies that became powerful empires, like Madiapahit in Java and Srivijaya in Sumatra, and they exerted a marked influence upon the Indonesians, but they did not come in great numbers and were eventually absorbed. The same happened to the Chinese, who had come to Java since the beginning of our era, and it is possible that part of the army of Kublai Khan became incorporated into the native population around 1292, when Chinese influence predominated over the Hindu. I have been told by Chinese scholars that at one time they considered Bali as their colony.

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noses, and fine mouths; others have the concave, flat, broad noses, the squinty eyes, bulging foreheads, and prognathic jaws of the more primitive Indonesians. Thus the Balinese of today are the same people as the Hindu-Javanese of pre-Mohammedan Java, in the sense that they both underwent the same racial and cultural influences.

THE ANCIENT SURVIVAL: THE BALI AGA

At one time the island was populated by pure Indonesians, an ancient people who filed and blackened their teeth. They lived in small communities, family clans ruled by a council of Elders who acted as the priests of their religion. Their cult centred in the worship of the powerful spirits of nature, and especially those of their ancestors, with whom they continued to live, a great family of both the dead and the living. Occasionally, by means of mediums and sacrifices, they brought their ancestral spirits down to this earth to protect them. They buried their dead or simply abandoned them in the jungle to be carried away by the spirits, and it is possible that they even ate parts of the bodies in order to absorb the magic power inherent in their ancient headmen.

The pure descendants of these people, calling themselves Bali Aga or Bali Mula, the "original" Balinese, still live, isolated and independent, in the mountains where they found refuge from imperialistic strangers. Hidden in the hills of East Bali, near Karangasem, lies the village of Tenganan, where the most conservative of the Bali Aga preserve the old traditions with the greatest zeal. Tenganan is a rabidly isolated community, socially and economically separate from the rest of Bali, almost a republic in itself. It is shut off from the world by a solid wall that surrounds the entire village, which is meant to keep outsiders away, and is broken only by four gates, each facing one of the cardinal points. Of these gates, three open to the gardens and plantations of the village, but the main gate is so narrow that a stout person has difficulty in squeezing through. Such is the obsession for

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517 offshoot of the aristocratic art of India of the seventh and eighth
532 centuries, brought it down to earth, and made it popular property.

Although at the service of religion, Balinese art is not a religious art. An artist carves ludicrous subjects in the temples or embellishes objects of daily use with religious symbols, using them purely as ornamental elements regardless of their significance. The Balinese carve or paint to tell the only stories they know – those created by their intellectuals, the religious teachers of former times.

THE STORY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF BALINESE ART

175 The art history of Bali runs parallel to the history of the island
53 itself. When Bali became a colony of Java, the conquering aristocracy brought their art with them, and every political event in Java has had a powerful influence in the development of Balinese culture. Thus, the early classic period of Javanese art corresponds also to a classic period in Bali, and when the mother country suffered disturbances and transformations, these were reflected in Balinese art, until Islamism and political chaos severed all connections between the two islands, and Hinduism had to find refuge in Bali. As the island became the centre of a new empire and no longer a province of Java, the Balinese natives took over the art of the exiled aristocracy, transformed it to suit their taste, and a typical Balinese art came into being.

174 Nothing definite is known of the art of pre-Hindu Bali, but
53 we know that the old Indonesian had a culture of its own, perhaps like the present one of the people of Nias and the Bataks of Sumatra, to whom the Balinese are in many ways akin. They worked metals, especially iron for the making of magic krisses; cultivated rice, had a well-organized administration, kept domestic animals, and made splendid textiles. Outside of a stone sarcophagus, some bronze bracelets and arrow-heads found in Petang, probably belonging to people of Hinduistic affiliation,

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no material traces of their megalithic monuments remain, or have yet been found, perhaps because archæological excavation has hardly begun in Bali. But a great deal of the old Indonesian spirit has remained in the daily life of the people, not only among the Bali Agas, but also alongside the Hinduism of the ordinary Balinese. As we shall see later, there are definite traces of what could have been the art of pre-Hindu times found today in the offerings, in the patterns of textiles, in certain sculptures, and the like.

Antiques are scarce in Bali, although there are thousands of mossy and battered statues all over the island, often of a more primitive style than the usual contemporary art. But a newly made statue appears of great age after six months of exposure to the damp climate of Bali, and, on the other hand, many ancient statues resemble those made in recent years. Many of the innumerable remains found in the temples, in jungles, or imbedded in the trunk of a *waringin* may easily be contemporary.

We made a sport of going out with Walter Spies into remote districts to find objects of what we called "native" Balinese style, and often located figures in wood, stone, and even clay that showed no trace of Hindu influence. There were demons, girls, primitive animals, and alarm-drums with faces carved on them that were reminiscent of Dyak, Batak, and Polynesian art. Spies is an enthusiast for the "megalithic" art and he has discovered many strange stones with primitive carvings, such as the stone in Bebitera, or the magnificent stone altar in Batukandik in the little island of Nusa Penida: a pyramid twelve feet high surmounted by the torso of a woman with large breasts, supporting on her head a stone throne like those from Nias, with two roosters standing on her shoulders, their heads resting on the palms of her hands. The style of the monument is decidedly Indonesian and so are the two little shrines, also in the same village, with well-defined signs of being one male, the other female. I was invited to accompany Assistant Controleur Grader and Spies on an expedition into the wilds between the mountains

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171 terious Indonesian bronze age.[2] The Pedjeng drum is regarded
534 with great reverence, and people often bring it offerings.
[776] Another motif which appears to be of native origin is the
531 figure called *tjilí*, a silhouette of a beautiful girl with a body shaped like a slim hour-glass (two triangles meeting at their apex), with rounded breasts, long thin arms, great ear-plugs, and wearing an enormous head-dress of flowers. *Tjilí* shapes are made in wood, of Chinese coins sewn together, woven into textiles, modelled in clay to surmount tiles for roofs, and made into clay banks for pennies. They are painted on rice cakes for temple ornaments in Selat, and made out of palm-leaf for certain agricultural ceremonies of the old mountain villages or as containers for the soul of the dead (*adegan*) for cremations. *Tjilís* form the central motif of *lamaks*, those beautiful but perishable ornamental strips of palm-leaf, about a foot and a half wide by some ten to twenty feet long, made for feasts by the women, pinned together with bits of bamboo strips of *busung*, the tender yellow blades of the sugar or coconut palm, taken from the tree before the leaf opens. This is decorated with a delicate geometric pattern, a mosaic of bits of the green leaf of the same palm, cut with a knife into elaborate ornaments which are pinned on the yellow background, forming borders like the ones on the Pedjeng drum, ornamental strips (*bebatikán*), groups of rosettes called "moons" (*bulán*), the *tjilí*, and a stylized tree (*kayon*). These magnificent ornaments, perhaps the purest examples of the Balinese native art, last only for one day, and after hanging for an afternoon on an altar or a rice granary, by evening they are completely wilted. Spies has collected every different type of [1114] *lamak* design for a period of years and he has hundreds of them. [184] He claims that every community has a peculiar design not found elsewhere.

[776] The figure of a *tjilí* seems to have a strange hold on the im-

[174] [2] Heine-Geldern attributes the bronze drums and bronze weapons unearthed near Dông-Son in Northern Annam and Tonkin to a peculiar culture of the bronze age which he believes penetrated from northern into southern Asia not later than 300 B.C. and perhaps even as early as 600 B.C. He called this the Dông-Son culture.

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346 That the *tjandí bentar* represented the two halves of a unit was obvious; in most of them each side was elaborately carved, often with the design also cut in two, as in a temple near Mengwi where half of a monstrous face adorned each side of the gate. Furthermore, the two inner sides were invariably left smooth, clean surfaces that shone by contrast with the elaborately carved rest of the temple. This we decided was an inviolable law until we found one *tjandí bentar* in Pura Bangkung, in Sukasada, North Bali, with its inner sides carved. This exception, however, is not important, given the anarchy that prevails in North Balinese temples, and since there is no rule in Bali without its exception.

In the right-hand corner of the first courtyard, or outside the gate, is the high tower (B) where hang the village drums (*kulkul*). Inside the outer court are a number of simple sheds: a kitchen (*paon*) where the food for feasts is cooked (C), the *balé gong*, a shed for the orchestra (D), and another *balé* (E) used as rest-house by the people and for the making of offerings. The outer courtyard is generally devoid of ornamentation except for a number of decorative frangipani trees.

Another monumental gate, the *padú raksa* (F), leads into the second court, the temple proper. This gate is a massive structure identical in shape and design with the reunited halves of the *tjandí bentar*, but raised high above the ground on stone platforms, with a narrow entrance provided with wooden doors and reached by a flight of stone steps. On each side of the stairs is a statue of a fierce giant, two *raksasas* to guard the entrance. Directly behind the door is a stone wall (*aling aling*) covered with reliefs of demons. These are meant to keep evil influences from entering the temple.

174 346 All sorts of theories have been advanced as to the significance of these two gates, the most characteristic structures in the temples. It has been said that the *tjandí bentar* represents the two halves of the mountain Mahameru, which was split by Pasupati (Siva) in order to place each half in Bali, one as the

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Gunung Agung and the other as the Batur. A scholarly Balinese told me that it represents the two halves of a complete thing, the male at the right, the female at the left; or it is perhaps symbolical of the splitting of the material world to permit the entrance into the mystery with the physical body. Dr. Goris suggests as the origin of these gates the remainders of the old *tjandís*, the burial towers of the former kings, a logical explanation because of the cult of deified kings linked to the ancestor-worship and, further, because of the identical shape of the Balinese temple gates and the old *tjandís*, a shape of temple gates which dates back to the most ancient of Javanese temples. The *tjandí* form appears throughout Balinese ritual as the symbol for the universe: a pyramid of receding platforms – the foundation of the earth and the mountains – the intermediate space between heaven and earth, and the stratified heavens, represented by the pagoda-like roofs (*tumpang*), or by gradually decreasing stone mouldings.

The first courtyard is only an antechamber for the preparation of feasts and for other social purposes. It is in the inner court that are erected the altars and shrines that serve as rest-houses for the gods during their visits to this earth. The principle of orientation – the relation of the mountains to the sea, high and low, right and left – that constitutes the ever present Balinese Rose of the Winds (*nawa sanggah*), rules the orientation and distribution of the temple units. The principal altars and shrines are arranged in two rows on the honoured sides of the court: *kadja*, upward to the mountain, and *kangin*, to the right of this direction.

First in importance is the *gedong pesimpangan* (K), built in the middle of the *kangin* side, a masonry building closed by wooden doors dedicated to the local deity, the ancestor-founder of the community, often named after the village, as, for instance, in *desa* Dedap he is called Ratú Dalam Dedapan. Inside there is often a stone phallus (*lingga*) and, since the building can be locked, there the relics and heirlooms of the temple are

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they at times become so enthusiastic that they fail to remark how tenuous it is in places. Rangda is a Balinese mythical figure. Durga is, on the other hand, a widely known personage of the Hindu pantheon whose character is defined in Sanskrit literature, whose attributes have been variously represented according to the time level and the geographical and cultural locale in which the representations have been made. To say that Rangda is Durga is not untrue. But it is true only in the measure that one can say that the Black Christ made by a group of Indians in Mexico and venerated by them on the site of an ancient Aztec temple is the Jesus Christ of Palestine and the New Testament, or in the measure that certain Transformer tales of the Coast Salish on the Northwest Coast of America, when they are brought under Christian influence, identify the figures of *dókwibul* and Moon with Christ.[8] The influence is there, but it can only be accepted and understood by the receiving culture according to its own lights and in terms of its own experience and characteristic structuring of the natural and supernatural worlds.

With this forewarning, then, let us look at the evidence. Vlekke gives the following dates in his historical outline of Hinduistic influences in the Indonesian Archipelago.

c. 1-700 A.D. Hindu immigration into the East Indian islands.

c. 400 A.D. Oldest Sanskrit inscriptions (at Muara Kaman) prove the existence of a Hindu-Indonesian state in East Borneo.

414. The Chinese pilgrim Fah-hien reports Brahmanism to be the prevailing religion in Java and Sumatra.

424. Prince Gunavarman of Kashmir preaches Buddhism in Sumatra.

c. 670. First reports on the Sumatran kingdom of Shrivijaya. The religion of its kings is Mahayana-Buddhist.

c. 750. Construction of the Shivaist temples of the Dieng Plateau (Java).

c. 770-800. Mahayana Buddhism becomes the official religion of the kingdom of Central Java. Construction of Borobudur and Tjandi Mendut (temples), etc.

c. 800. Shrivijaya is the predominant naval power in the archipelago.

c. 870. Return of the Shivaist kings of East Java to Central Java (Mataram).

c. 900. Construction of the Lara Djonggrang temple group at Prambanan (Java).

c. 930. Central Java deserted by its kings and most of its inhabitants.

c. 989-1007. Dharmavangça, king of East Java, extends his power over Bali, promulgates laws, causes the *Mahabharata* to be translated into Old Javanese.

1019-1049. Airlangga (Erlangga, the Balinese prince, becomes through his mother) king of East Java. After his death the kingdom is divided into the states of Kadiri and Janggala.

[8] Smith, n.d.

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the favorite sacrificial animal for offering to Durga and that he, a Moslem, was following an old Hindu rite practiced by his ancestors.[1]

This sort of folk perpetuation of a tradition has been shown to be carried through in Bali, and it must always be taken into account as a possibility in tracing cultural elements through time. Dr. W. F. Stutterheim identified in Bali a number of mortuary statues of kings, carved in the images of gods, which had been removed from the site of the mortuary temple and set up in village temples. He assumes that the original terraces (similar to the Indian *mandapas*) and the figures were, after the fall of the dynasty, either demolished or abandoned. But the figures, "still regarded as holy, and feared by the population on account of their magic power were installed in temples where they could be cared for and supplied with offerings."

> Thus I found the figures in places to which they did not properly belong (Stutterheim says)—namely, in temples (*puras* [or *poesat*]), where the Balinese do not exactly know what to make of them now. To the people these figures are merely magically dangerous stones (fallen down from the sky, according to popular belief), of which one is afraid and so they must be cared for; their destruction might lead to some calamity. As for their original significance, it is completely forgotten.[2]

every year since that time to the holy spring of Tirta Mpul to be given a bath, and then back again to the village where it was enshrined. The day for the performance of this ceremonial bath was calendrically fixed, full moon of the fourth month. On deciphering the inscription, Stutterheim found that it was the charter of the foundation of the holy spring Tirta Mpul, on the day of full moon of the fourth month of the year 962. Though Dr. Stutterheim, with the true archeologist's enthusiasm, did not forbear to

Stutterheim supports his point by alluding to an inscription dating from 962 A.D. which he was able to decipher, though the stone had been carried tell the people who venerate this stone and keep it holy the facts of its origin —he remarks that "the communication of my findings was received in the place with no little interest"[3]—one would be inclined to guess that the people still keep it wrapped in its white cloth and provide it with offerings and take it every year for the ceremonial bath and retain only the vaguest memory of the tale told by a Tuan of an alternative origin for the very *sakti* stone.

It should be stated here in no uncertain terms that running through the literature of the 1920's and 1930's dealing with ethnographic data in the Indies, whether this literature is Dutch, English, German, or vari-European, the concept of the "magically powerful," "magically dangerous," "magically

[1] Vlekke, 1943, p. 27.
[2] Stutterheim, 1935, p. 28.
[3] *Ibid*, p. 29.

[These lines should be inserted at the beginning of the paragraph as indicated by arrow.--Analyst]

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the Balinese mother smiles upon her son when she has taught him to say and feel "*Sing bani*," when she has taught him fear.

That this tie up between the mother and fear exists in Bali there can be no doubt. But that the Rangda should be construed as Mother Figure representative of the total feeling toward the mother, and that this substitution should be carried over into adulthood until the young man looks forward to marrying a girl who will turn into a witch, "marry a woman whose attitude toward human relations will be exactly that of his own mother,"[36] is a point of view with which this writer does not agree. Rangda serves only as a representation of the fear aspect of the Mother Figure. There is a split in the feeling toward the mother, the destructive, witchlike, devouring, and deathly side of her represented in the Rangda, which Mead and Bateson have stressed, and the loving, beautiful, food-giving aspect of the living woman.

Balinese women are famous the world over for their beauty, their grace, and their graciousness as people, and of this quality the women themselves do not seem unaware. The men, equally handsome and graceful, are appreciative of the gracious quality of the female and remark upon a pretty face, a beautiful breast, with connoisseurship such as they apply to the arts. Women who bear children are highly valued, and the importance of having issue is in this culture equal for the male and the female. Women cook the daily rice, which is holy. The making of the little rice goddess, Dewi Sri, at each harvest time from the first cut sheaf is apparently an Old Indonesian rite, representative of both the food giving and fertility aspects of the female. At New Year's time, before each house is hung a *lamak*, a palm leaf panel with cut out designs in highly stylized Old Indonesian patterns. On each panel, executed in a distinctive manner in each village, is a stylized tree, probably a male symbol, and a *tjili*, a lovely slender lady with triangular body and a circular headdress. This *tjili* figure has been identified with Dewi Sri, with the *dedari* (*widadari*, Sanskrit *vidya-dhari*), heavenly nymphs, in whose name the little girl trance dancers (*sang hyang dedari*) are invoked. A myriad of different forms among the offerings and the receptacles for the soul in post-mortuary ceremonies recall this graceful, somewhat infantile female figure. It seems that we are dealing here with a prototype of the feminine spirit figure from Old Indonesian times, brought down to us more or less intact in the *tjili* patterns and carried over, with necessary modifications, into the Hinduistic death ritual where needed. Covarrubias[37]

[36] Bateson and Mead, 1942, p. 36.
[37] Covarrubias, 1937, pp. 172-75, 177, 179 and 181.

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gives a number of reproductions of them which may profitably be compared with Stutterheim, *Oudheden*, Figure 63—also a *widadari* with elongated body and with highly differentiated hands, each finger elongated, separate, and extended.

This figure, compared with the elongated Durga of Figure 27 in the same book, gives us a clue to the division of the female image since Middle Balinese times. The Prambanan Durga image is destructive, but beautiful, containing in herself the qualities of "the radiant white one" and "the terrible," "the mother of the world" and "the deep sleep of all creatures." It is a curious fact that the plagues and epidemics which the Rangda is thought to cause are the reason for the creation of *sang hyang dedari* ("heavenly nymph" child trance dancers) who are meant to cure them. As the Durga image, meeting the Indonesian image of fertility and femaleness, was modified in accordance with it, so down through the centuries till the present time have come the two threads, that of the Rangda, who became older, more hideous, more destructive as time went on, and that of the *tjili*, which became more graceful, more "spiritual," more innocent, and more child-like.

[96 cont.]

M 582 583 parental [bilateral] or parentage rights system prevails. Nevertheless, the bridegroom still pays a bride price, which here, of course, has nothing of the character of a purchase price for the girl. It is divided, together with other presents, among the M 586 relatives of the bride, who, for their part, also give presents and return a part of the bride price. Divorce is rife, and divorce can be instituted by both the man and the woman. A peculiar institution is the mapoewé awo, "to divide a bamboo into two equal parts," which refers to the [97] distribution of the children between the parents with the understanding that, in the case of divorce and provided the bride price has been paid, the first child, then the third, and so on, go to the M 562 mother, the others to the father. As is always the case with eleutherogamy, the position of women is not lower than that of the men; rule by women is common in southern Celebes.

B 621 631 d. Bali. Among the Balinese the interests of the individual are primarily concentrated in territorial jurisdictional communities, the Balinese dèsa; in former times they were combined into even larger territorial units, not always to their advantage or satisfaction, for example, the former Balinese principalities which were subdivided into districts.

B 592 594 It is noteworthy that neither the family nor the household [gezin, or nuclear family] is a jurisdictional community, in view of the fact that the Balinese have a strong family sense, B [769 778] which expresses itself, for instance, in a veneration for the place from which the family traces its origin. A special temple is erected and pilgrimages are made there for giving offerings. B 631 Only the dèsa, however, the territorial region, is a jurisdictional community, and, besides that, the soebak, the Balinese polder.

B 621 Although one can thus say that the dèsa communities represent the pivot around which the interests of the individual revolve, this must be qualified to apply to the particular situation on Bali.

B [771 174] The whole life of the Balinese is very strongly influenced by his religion, an animism that has been greatly modified by

[97 cont.]
771 the intensive effect of Hinduism. The whole organization of
●174 the village, as well as the work on the land, is closely bound
621 up with this religion; there are special dèsa temples, religious festivals for purifying the dèsa, special temples for the soebak, etc.

621 There are two types of dèsa on Bali, especially in Buleleng, the old-fashioned and the modern dèsa. The former is distinguished by the great significance that the dèsa association (sekaha dèsa) still has; it consists primarily of the descendants of those who founded the dèsa, that is, the so-called core villagers. Certain advantages are enjoyed by [98] the members of these dèsa associations in the old-fashioned villages, usually in the form of agricultural land. The number of members is
[564] limited, and there is absolute equality among them; even differences of caste do not play a part here. [Illustration appears here.] A council of elders guides the collective settlement of matters.

When a member dies, his son or some other blood relative is taken into membership [99] in his place. When there is no male relative to succeed him, a new member can be taken in. Such a new member has to serve a kind of apprenticeship, during which he is not looked upon as a full member of the association, and at meetings he has to serve the other members. The external characteristic of the old-fashioned dèsa is the possession
[623] of a balé-agoeng, a long shed in the forecourt of the village temple, where the dèsa meetings are held. In these meetings each member has the same rights as the others and possesses
[624] one vote. For the orderly conduct of business matters, however, there are some leaders, the eldest members of the association. In some dèsa this executive committee is composed exclusively of a certain number of these elders who are accorded various official titles. When one of these executive members dies, a successor is moved up to take his place.

793 The pasèk, whose function has a religious character, is
554 on an equal footing with these executive members, and above
[776] them in some dèsa. He answers to the godhead, the dèwa, when the latter is reincarnated in the temple.

[Text continues on p. 113]

[102 cont.]

623 All dèsa business is discussed in these village meetings, including financial matters, and thus the amount of the taxes to be levied is discussed and fixed.

634 Districts. A collection of villages forms a district, at the head of which stands a pambekelgedé or poenggawa. They are [625 702] involved in the management of the dèsa only insofar as matters of policing and army service (service outside the dèsa) are concerned. The grouping into districts, therefore, has no great significance for the ordinary Balinese. This cannot be said of the principalities, the larger political units that developed on Bali and now belong completely to the past.

64 174 Princes. According to Liefrinck (1), the Balinese principali-

1. F.A. Liefrinck, "Bijdrage tot de kennis van het eiland Bali (Contributions to Knowledge of the Island of Bali)" Tijdschrift voor Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde van Nederlands Indië, Vol. 33, p. 347 f.

ties probably came into being in the following manner. In former times the various dèsa often had questions to discuss [312 721] among themselves, especially concerning water for irrigation purposes. Originally, this perhaps led to armed combat, but gradually the parties came to appeal to arbitration by persons in whose judgment they had faith. These persons exercised a growing influence in the course of time. Their descendants knew how to strengthen this and to draw the whole of the administration of justice into their hands. As soon as they succeeded in making themselves masters of the rights to irrigation water and were able to claim payment for the use of it, [103] they [643] became full-fledged Eastern despots. During the period when the Balinese princes had unlimited power, it was in very small [641] measure a blessing for the ordinary people; on the contrary, in most cases it was a heavy burden. The inhabitants had to [651] guard the poeri, the royal residence; the prince placed a tariff

64 [103 cont.]
174 on agricultural products, especially rice and coconuts, and the
651 best of these products had to be presented to him.

Soebak. Bali, a land where sawah cultivation is of the
634 greatest importance and where the inhabitants are therefore
312 greatly concerned about having a regular supply of irrigation
476 water, is also a land where a peculiar native jurisdictional community has developed, the Balinese polder, soebak. It is true that this is very closely connected with agriculture and thus could be dealt with in the chapter on "Means of Subsistence," but because of its special importance for Balinese society and because it is a special form of jurisdictional community, we will discuss it in this chapter as a more suitable place.

The soebak is formed when new land is opened up, with the aim of procuring for the owners of small holdings the advantages that large sawah holdings have (with regard to irrigation water). This form of co-operation in no way diminishes the rights of ownership of the small holders. The soebak, then, is an association of all the cultivators whose sawahs can be irrigated from one aqueduct, with the aim of building and caring for the upkeep of the aqueduct and also of regulating, through mutual consultations, the other agricultural operations. One soebak may embrace several dèsa, and in large dèsa there may be more than one soebak.

At the head of a soebak is the klian soebak, chosen by all the members who make up the sekaha soebak. He keeps a list of the members and is charged with governing sawah operations in consultation with the members. Once it has been decided
[685 when the rice is to be planted, he must see to it that this actu-
627] ally is done. He must also be on guard against water thieves. He tries to settle amicably the questions that arise among the members of the soebak.

[623] When matters warrant it, the klian calls a meeting. Usually the meetings take place on a definite day of the month (35 days), sometimes at each [104] full moon. At first these meetings are held in the open, later in the newly built soebak temple.

Bali OF7
Borneo OC1

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X779 [229 cont.]
the rulers over the whole island, or the greater part of it. In the ninth century there were great migrations from Java to Bali, and in the thirteenth century a Javanese prince sent administrators to Bali to reform the Javanese rural communities and other institutions on the Hindu-Javanese model. The Hindu-Javanese element on Bali was greatly reinforced at the end of the fifteenth century after the fall of Majapahit. After that Java very quickly became Islamized, which caused a split between this island and Bali.

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[174 177] On Bali, therefore, one finds a continuation of the Hindu-Javanese society of the Middle Ages, but with its own character and free of foreign influences, with cremation (formerly also sutteeism), the caste system, and Brahamic and (less numerous) Buddhist priests. In these respects and partly also in the administration of justice, Balinese society, as well as that of the western part of Lombok, which is inhabited by Balinese, can be considered Hindu in character. The religion can also be called Hinduism insofar as the priests and the notables are concerned; the people themselves have retained much of their original animism. The descendants of the oldest inhabitants of the country, those who were not in former centuries converted to Hinduism, are called Bali-aga, in [230] contrast to the Hindu-Balinese, who call themselves wong Madjapahit, "people of Majapahit."

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[174 175] Probably only Borneo among the other islands of the archipelago was visited directly from India, if this can be deduced from the fact that inscriptions found in Moeara Kaman in Kutai (southern and eastern division of Borneo) date, according to Professor Kern, from around the year 400 A.D., judging from the alphabetical writing. These inscriptions from King Moelawarman are found on four stone sacrificial posts. Higher up on the Mahakam, in a cave in the Kombeng, twelve sandstone images, among others, were found. There are no historical data concerning this colonization, however, and nothing is known about it or about that on other islands where Hindu relics have been found.

1: Alkema & Bezemer--424 E-4, 5 (no date)1927 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Java OE1
Bali OF7
Lombok OF12

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[377 cont.]

2. Sawah Cultivation. The cultivation of rice in wet fields, [378] [illustration appears here] [379] known generally as sawahs, stands on a higher plane than the cultivation of rice in dry fields. The opinion that sawah cultivation originated with the Hindus has been mentioned in Chapter 4. In any case, it can be said that such cultivation is found only among the more advanced peoples of the archipelago. Whether it was introduced by Hindu-Javanese to the Outer Provinces, where it has long been practiced, is a difficult question to answer.

As well as on Java, Bali, and Lombok, sawah cultivation is found in Atjeh on Sumatra, among the Batak, in the Padang highlands and lowlands, in the coastal areas of Borneo, among the Buginese and Makassarese on Celebes, and the Doesoen-Kaili group of the Toradja (here the land is not worked with the plow, but by driving buffaloes into the drenched fields). Wet rice-cultivation is practically nonexistent on the other islands of the archipelago.

Rice cultivation in sawahs differs mainly in four ways from that in dry ground.

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1. Far more care is taken in preparing the land, chiefly in connection with the necessity of keeping the water in the fields by means of aqueducts and dikes. The great difference between sawah and ladang cultivation is that in the former the fields must stand under water for some time. The field must therefore be surrounded by dikes, called galengan on Java, and, in the case of sloping terrain, the fields must be laid out in terraces. Furthermore, sawah cultivation requires, if possible, a supply of running water that can be directed first to one field, then to another. This has led to building aqueducts directly from the river to the fields. Where such irrigation projects have not been undertaken by the Government, the building, maintenance, and repair of the aqueducts represent a very considerable amount of labor for the native cultivator. Despite the simplest kind of implements, the native system of irrigation on Java, and perhaps even more on Bali and western Lombok, is very highly developed. The

Batak OD5 Javanese OE5
New Guinea OJ1 Bahau OC5
Mentawi OD9 Bali OF7
Nias OD11 Lombok OF12
Tanimbar OF19 Borneo OC1

J 765 [775 174] [473 cont.] regulations readily link up with the pre-Islamic forms of ancestor worship. These feasts are especially frequent in the eighth month of the Mohammedan year, Shaban, which is usually called Roewah in Javanese, from the Arabic word arwah, the plural or roeh, "spirit"; thus, it is the Mohammedan All Souls month.

I 764 The way the animistic tribes in the archipelago dispose of the dead varies according to their cultural level. [474] Most Bh 764 of them practice burial, either in a coffin or directly in the earth. Among the Kenja Dajak [Kenya Dyak] in the Apo-Kajan area (around the source of the Mahakam), the bodies are placed in coffins on high poles under a lean-to; poles and lean-to, Bh [766] called the liang, are handsomely decorated. The so-called "bad corpses," the bodies of women who have died in childbed, of L Bl I 764 suicides, those who have been cut down, etc., are not put in a liang, but are buried in the ground (1). Cremation, which

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1. Dr. J. M. Elshout, De Kenja-Dajaks uit het Apo-Kajangebied (1926), pp. 80 f. and 96 f.

probably arose under Hindu influence, is found primarily on Bali and among the Balinese on Lombok, also among some Br Bt [764] Dajak [Dyak] tribes in the western as well as in the southern and eastern parts of Borneo, and among the Karo and Pakpak Batak. The other methods of disposing of the dead are: a. NG 764 depositing the bodies in the forest, as is done among some Papuan tribes, the inhabitants of the Mentawei Islands, and M Ni T 764 sometimes on southern Nias and on the Tanimbar Islands, where the hollowed-out tree trunk that serves as a coffin is hung under trees; b. mummification, which is reported only from some Papuan tribes.

NG 764 The bodies are commonly placed in the coffin in a squatting position, as was also generally done in Europe according to the finds in prehistoric graves.

Malays AN5
Gorontalo - OG4
Manobo OA28

Javanese OE5
Bali OF7
Ngadju OC9
Celebes OG1
Batak OD5

J 776 [555 cont.]

In general the Javanese uses hjang to indicate all the spirits that I Bl Ng C Bt Ml J 776 he worships. Formerly, however, it exclusively meant "god," as is still the case on Bali. From Java the word went to Borneo, where we find it among the Olo Ngadju in the form sanggiang as the designation for sylphs, good spirits, to Celebes, where we again find it used for good spirits as sangijang -- reminding one of sangiyang sarri -- and to Sumatra, where it is used among the Batak as Sanyang naga for good, female water-spirits. Other 177 words for spirits that are generally widespread were borrowed from 174 Sanskrit or from Arabic. We shall mention some of the most common ones. The Sanskrit devatâ appears in many different forms. It means divinity in Sanskrit. It occurs in the archipelago with this meaning among the Malays, Javanese, Dajak, and Batak. The Malays pronounce it as dewata, the Javanese as dewata, djawata, and djuwata, the Batak as debata. The gods taken over from the Hindus are chiefly meant by it. Among the Dajak of the southeastern division the word is contracted to djata, by which the kind of spirits that principally live in rivers are understood, whereas the Bisayans designate the souls of their deceased with it.

G Mb Bl J Bt 776 The word diuata appears among the Manobo as the name for the harvest god, and the Bantiks and the Bolaang Mongodou know him as ompu duata. Besides the word dewata, batara is very widespread. Its basic meaning is god, especially as the name for the supreme god. Furthermore, the Sanskrit bhûta = spirit, good and bad, is found among all the peoples of the archipelago. Among the Balinese, [556] for example, buta are evil spirits, and also among the Javanese. The Batak use it to indicate the spirits that they believe live in the village streets. The Malayan djin and sjaithan as designations for evil spirits also occur frequently.

I 769 775 In connection with the above, we now want to discuss briefly what characterizes the worship of the spirits and the souls of the deceased. We know that in spiritism the souls are worshiped as disembodied. This does not alter the fact, however, that the souls of the deceased as well as the spirits are popularly